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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses affirmative action in Peru and considers what the government must do to solve the inferior status of the Indian majority. Ethnically and geographically diverse, Peru's population is said to be marked by inequities in wealth, education, and employment. The policies developed by Peruvian governments over the past 20 years to deal with these problems are analyzed. The first regime of Fernando Belaunde Terry (1963-68) is contrasted with the revolutionary military government of Juan Velasco (1968-75) and Morales Bermudez (1975-80). Three specific concerns are addressed: (1) policy innovation and its motivation; (2) the complexities of the implementation process; and (3) intended and unintended outcomes on Indian peasants and women. The paper reports that by the mid-1970s, a series of affirmative action efforts were undertaken by Peruvian governments, but considers that not all of these have been successful. One reason for failure cited is the difficulty of implementation in a developing country where inequalities are complex and government resources are limited. Although inequalities are viewed as having lightened somewhat in the last 20 years, it is argued that the government has yet to overcome such problems as choosing between redistributing and growth, cultural pluralism, the complexity of land tenure patterns, political constraints, and the weakness of institutional structures upon which affirmative action programs were built. In conclusion, some theoretical questions are posed for comparative studies of affirmative action. (KH)

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# PERU: AFFIRMATIVE ACTION FOR THE MAJORITY

by

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# INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

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# PERU: AFFIRMATIVE ACTION FOR THE MAJORITY

Susan C. Bourque

The economic and cultural realities of Peruvian society make this country's affirmative action policies an important instance of the variation found in Third World nations. The Peruvian case underscores the problems of implementing affirmative action in nations suffering from severe economic underdevelopment. Ultimately, Peru demonstrates the dependence of such reforms upon both the commitment and political skills of a nation's leadership, as well as upon the stability and health of the nation's economy.

The issue affirmative action must address in Peru--and in many Third World countries--is the inequality of the majority and what the state can do about it. Affirmative action in this instance requires a more encompassing definition, to wit, government policies adopted to promote improved access to resources such as land, education, and legal rights, for those presently disadvantaged.

Thus the policies associated with affirmative action in the United States--quotas, improved recruiting, goals and timetables, revisions in criteria for hiring and promotion, internal compliance officers and court challenges--do not easily translate to the Peruvian situation. Similarly, Peruvian patterns of ethnic identification, political and economic power, as well as strategies of ethnic mobility, offer marked contrasts to the patterns found in Malaysia and India.

Peru is both ethnically and geographically diverse. The population (17 million in 1981) is unevenly distributed in three widely varying

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regions: the coast (50 percent in 1982), the sierra (the mountains, 39 percent), and the jungle (selva, 11 percent). Roughly speaking, ethnicity parallels geography with mestizo and white populations predominating on the coast, Indian peasants and mestizos populating the sierra, and tribal forest Indians and hunters and gatherers in the jungle. Substantial internal migration has somewhat affected this pattern: both sierra and coastal residents trickle into the jungle as economic opportunities develop there, and rural Indian peasants migrate to the coastal cities, primarily Lima and Chimbote. Migration from the sierra has dramatically increased in the past 40 years, reaching its peak during the period 1961-72, declining somewhat in the period 1972-81. During this time, the population of the sierra has dropped 26 percent. Approximately 75 percent of Lima's population was born outside that city. In the Peruvian census of 1972, 72 percent of the population listed Spanish as their native tongue and 26 percent listed Quechua or Aymara, the language associated with the sierra Indians.

Inequity in Peru is marked. One recent estimate put 80 percent of the population in the lower class, which is composed of a substantial range of occupations.[1] In the rural sector, this includes landless laborers, ex-peons, comuneros (members of peasant communities), and in the urban sector, street vendors, domestics, industrial workers, enlisted and noncommissioned military, and police personnel. In short, the lower class includes an economic spectrum widely varying in interests and concerns. What they share is low income relative to the middle- and upper-class minorities. Three-quarters of Lima's population lives in squatter settlements where electricity and piped water have only recently become available and where people are chronically underemployed or unemployed, and when employed concentrated in the lower levels of the service sector.

In this paper, I discuss some of the policies Peruvian governments have developed over the past 20 years to deal with the inequity of the majority, contrasting the first regime of Fernando Belaunde Terry (1963-68) with the revolutionary military government of Juan Velasco (1968-75)

and Morales Bermudez (1975-80). For both periods, I address three specific concerns: (a) policy innovation and its motivation, (b) the complexities of the implementation process, (c) intended and unintended outcomes on Indian peasants and women.[2] The evidence from Peru suggests the difficulty of implementing affirmative action under conditions of economic uncertainty and decline. Reform policies initiated in the first years of the military government are all severely curtailed in the ensuing years as resources become tightly restricted. This underscores the critical role of the state in directing affirmative action efforts, as well as an important restriction upon its implementation of these policies.

## The Changing Role of the State and Affirmative Action

In large parts of the world, the state's major concern is to control structurally subordinate populations. Affirmative action is significant because it represents an instance in which the state appears to be developing channels to afford greater access to resources for its most disadvantaged citizens, or for groups of citizens in its most disadvantaged strata. Understanding the circumstances under which a government comes to adopt such policies, as well as the outcome of those policies, are central concerns of contemporary political science.

Over the past 20 years, the Peruvian state has both increased its role in directing Peruvian society and turned its attention toward disadvantaged groups. The scope of government activity has broadened, involving the state in provision of infrastructure (roads, transportation, dams, irrigation) and in an expanded role in the economy (including the state-controlled petroleum and fishing industries, marketing and agricultural enterprises). The state has also addressed central problems of social equity and social justice through experiments in agrarian reform, education, rural development, and the expansion of women's participation.

Government efforts to deal with questions of social justice and to define routes for its attainment constitute that aspect of policy considered affirmative action, that is, those areas in which the state

has developed policies to improve social equity through the use of state resources. Affirmative action in Peru has been pursued through legislative and executive programs, through policies defined and implemented by the state, and through redirecting or reorganizing private or nonstate entities and resources toward those ends.

In defining and implementing affirmative action policies, governments have had to confront two central and complex issues: (1) which groups are to be the recipients of affirmative action, and (2) toward what goal should state action be directed? A second phrasing of these issues might be: What models for affirmative action have Peruvian governments adopted? What has government leadership hoped to achieve? How have policies fit into the larger patterns of social change? What have been the responses of recipient populations to national initiatives?

In Peru, the problem of inequality has been addressed by every administration since the early 1960s. Widely diverse political leaders have attempted policy innovation and focused public resources and energy in attempts to cope with the most glaring forms of inequality. Their experience demonstrates the difficulties of defining and implementing affirmative action.

- Historically, Peruvian governments have been faced with the question of how to achieve national integration in a population composed of a fluid range of Indians, mestizos, and Caucasians.[3] Any such scheme implied some attention to the substantial economic and cultural gulfs between the ethnic and economic groups in Peruvian society. Most recently, this analysis has included the disparity between men and women in their opportunities and circumstances.

Divisions in Peruvian society are marked between the modern and traditional economic sectors, between geographic regions, between ethnic groups, and between the sexes. Inequity is both severe and distributed in such a fashion as to make policy development a nightmare. Webb reports "an extreme of overall inequality." The distribution of personal income by decile indicates a ratio between top and bottom deciles of 49:1. Furthermore, the lower six deciles receive only 17 percent of the national

income, while the top decile receives 52.8 percent; of that top decile, the upper 5 percent receive 43 percent and the top 1 percent 30.5 percent of the total national income.[4]

More important in terms of policy, any given social sector--such as the city wage earner or even the highland peasant--may include both very wealthy and very poor individuals. Webb points out that the lack of correspondence between income strata and other economic and social groupings makes redistributive policies extremely difficult. Moreover, policies directed at helping the poor in one region may increase the difficulties of the poor in another. For instance, he notes that higher prices for sierra-produced potatoes increase the cost of food for the urban poor. The diversity of incomes by geographic regions and occupational groupings is an important aspect of government planners' difficulties in developing affirmative action programs. Not only must they decide who within a particular region is to be given the benefit of government programs, but they also must determine how assistance to any selected group affects others with comparable and competing claims. This becomes a more difficult process when the state is heavily and directly involved in the development planning for society as a whole and there are limited resources to meet demands for state action.

## Ethnicity, National Integration, and Affirmative Action

Central to any plan for national integration or affirmative action policy in Peru is the question of what is to be done with the rural Indian sector of society? When the Spanish conquered Peru (1532-35), they took charge of the remainder of the Inca empire, a nation estimated at between 4.5 and 3.2 million people.[5] This was a diverse population of groups conquered and consolidated into a political unit by the Incas only 100 years prior to the arrival of the Spanish.

The history of the sierra Indian population has been that of a severely dominated group. Indian identity has been strongly associated with assumptions and claims of collective ethnic inferiority by the dominant groups. Non-Indians (i.e., mestizos and Caucasians) have

maintained Indians in structurally subordinate positions through monopolies of the national government and economic system, through labor policies phrased in ethnic terms, and through steady encroachment on Indian lands. Indians were reduced to an auxiliary labor force to be mobilized for seasonal labor on coastal plantations or, alternatively, restricted to peon status on highland haciendas or to indigenous communities to produce tribute and agricultural surpluses for urban centers.[6]

The newly independent Peruvian state first attempted to achieve integration by both abolishing exploitative labor practices and by attempting to break up Indian communities "to convert Indians into yeoman farmers."[7] Unfortunately, 19th-century liberal policies facilitated the encroachment of mestizo plantation owners on indigenous community lands. The mestizos' dominance was insured by their facility in Spanish, the language of the legal system, and by the termination of special protective policies for the Indians.

It was only in the 20th century, under the influence of the pro-indigentista movement inspired by Manuel Gonzalez Prada, that the state began to intervene actively on behalf of the Indian population. The Constitution of 1920 established the legal existence of the Indian community and assumed some state responsibility for the well-being of the Indian population. The Constitution of 1933 reaffirmed the state's obligation "to protect Indian lands and insure the integrity of the Indigenous community." It also provided a mechanism for the legal recognition of Indian communities, insuring legal status to those communities officially registered (Davies, 1974; Dobyns, 1964).[8]

The extension of roads and a national school system into the rural areas proved to be important factors in changing ethnic relations. The expansion of schools, which began in the late 1940s, facilitated access to Spanish literacy and provided a wider exposure to the norms of mestizo life. The extension of road systems and the gradual commercialization of agriculture allowed ethnic mobility to those born as Indians and desiring to change that identity.

The pattern of ethnic identification that emerged in Peru is one in which identification as an Indian is a movable and changeable category. Cross-regional migration may be accompanied by an individual's acquisition of mestizo identity. Indians can become mestizos by adopting Western dress, by learning to speak Spanish, by changing occupation or by changing residence, usually moving from the sierra to the coast.[9] Van den Berghe and Primov stress the frequency with which this occurs by noting "tens of thousands of Peruvian Indians become mestizos every year."[10]

This pattern of ethnic fluidity and mobility makes an important contrast with Malaysia and India. Ethnic passing in Peru does not require a change in religion or rejection of one's family of origin. Most sierra Indians are normally Catholic and there is an overlay of Catholicism in many rural rituals. Similarly, Indian families often view the ability of a son or daughter to make a life in Lima or on the coast as a positive expansion of family opportunities. Parents often make considerable sacrifices to allow their children that opportunity. For policy-makers, the issue becomes--given the fluidity of ethnic identification and current opportunities for ethnic mobility--should affirmative action by phrased in ethnic terms?

The term indio has such a negative connotation in Peru that it is now seldom used, except as disparagement. Over time, campesino has come to substitute for it. Campesino might be loosely translated as "peasant," but it is used to include widely varying types of peasants, rural proletarians, sharecroppers, and even miners.[11]

This is not to imply that ethnic distinctions disappear in Peru. Rather they are contextual. Individual mobility from Indian or campesino to mestizo is dependent to some extent on other people's willingness to accept one's ethnic claims.[12] Current observers of ethnic identification patterns in Peru stress the confusion and imprecision in the overlap between Indian, mestizo, and Caucasian. Fuenzalida argues that "at the local level the rigidity of relations between the three levels (Indian, mestizo and white) is dependent upon the degree of isolation of the community. Thus as Peru is a heterogenous nation there is a wide spectrum

of situations from extreme segregation to extreme fluidity." For the rural sierra closest to the coast, and for individuals with access to the coast, opportunities for ethnic mobility have accelerated.[13]

To appreciate what this has meant on a national scale one need only recall that the Peruvian population has shifted from 60 percent rural in 1940 to 60 percent urban in 1981. For many of the individuals involved in this notable population shift, geographic relocation brought with it the possibility of a new ethnic identification.

Given the reality of an ethnically stratified system and ethnic mobility, what have been the affirmative actions of governments toward the rural Indian sector of Peruvian society? What policies have recent governments adopted? What has motivated those policies? And what has been their effect?

## Affirmative Action Policies and Programs

While the need for national integration to achieve Peruvian development would surely be identified as a major current in the philosophy guiding government affirmative action policy, social fear of the Indian or the rebellious campesino has also shaped current governments' perceptions of the need for more effective policies. Davies, writing of Indian integration policy up until 1948, notes the "fear of bloody Indian revolts" has characterized the response of white and mestizo Peruvians since the colonial period. He also notes that politicians not only used that fear to further their own ends, they often shared it.[14] In contrast to the situation in Malaysia, the Indian majority in Peru never achieved political power. Sporadic Indian and peasant revolts occurred, but these did not translate into effective sustained political participation, let alone political control.

Despite the significant population and ethnic shift noted above, social fear continues to motivate government action toward the campesino population. The peasantry is still viewed as the source of a number of the development problems facing Peru. In the rural areas, their poverty is believed to make campesinos easy marks for political agitators.

Peasant participation in invasions of *hacienda* land and the guerrilla movements in the mid-1960s aroused a fear that disorder might spread beyond government control. Such concerns helped the military decide to intervene in the political process in 1968. Similarly, scarcity of land[15] and lack of skills are deemed to be the major factors that push peasants into the overcrowded center city slums and urban land invasions. By the late 1950s and early 1960s, both private and public groups had begun to seek ways to prevent peasant radicalization. This implied confronting the dire conditions in the rural sierra and developing programs aimed at alleviating or eliminating those conditions.

## Policies Under Belaunde (1963-68)

When Fernando Belaunde Terry was elected to the presidency in 1973, he appeared to many Peruvians to be the dashing, courageous, and energetic reformer that the nation desperately needed. Peruvians identified Belaunde's party, Popular Action, with a non-Marxist, nationalistic, developmentally oriented ideology. Belaunde talked about the "Conquest of Peru by the Peruvians," by which he meant the opening up of the riches of the Amazon jungle through the construction of a network of highways that would also foster the integration of the coast and the highlands. This was a development formula based on expanding resources and thus made it theoretically possible to imagine achieving social justice without conflict over redistribution.

During this period, social fear certainly did not disappear as a factor motivating government policy toward the rural Indian population. Land invasions by *campesinos* had preceded Belaunde's election, prompting the promulgation in 1964 of the first agrarian reform law. The law was specifically designed for the rural areas worst hit by invasions. Two months after his inauguration, 200,000 hectares were invaded in one sierra department and 40 communities occupied lands in another.[16]

*Popular Cooperation*. In recognition of the need of the government to act affirmatively with the problems in the rural sector, Belaunde put into action a self-help program entitled Popular Cooperation. The scheme

allowed the central government to provide technical assistance for local development initiatives. The program was ideologically and organizationally based upon utilizing the surviving remnants of the indigenous community tradition of cooperative public works.

Popular Cooperation concentrated on road, school, dam, and community meeting hall construction. In its first year, 2,600 kilometers of road, 500 schools, and 2,000 community buildings were completed. The response of local communities who received technical assistance or materials was positive. At the same time, there was a widespread belief among peasants that ties to Belaunde's Popular Action party played a key role in determining which communities received help and how extensive government assistance would be. This perception was shared by members of the congressional opposition who correctly identified the political potential of such patronage. When Popular Action proved successful in the 1963 district elections, the opposition moved to cut off Popular Cooperation's funding, essentially ending the program.

Nevertheless, the impact of Popular Cooperation was striking. The program affected the most marginal areas of Peru, the indigenous communities, providing them with new public services and more extensive ties to the national political system.[17]

The Agrarian Reform Law of 1964. A second affirmative action toward the rural sector was the passage, in 1964, of Peru's first Agrarian Reform Law. Peru's highly diversified and stratified agrarian sector makes it difficult to implement adequate agrarian reform. Rural sierra land-holding and use patterns vary substantially; Indians live both as peons and sharecroppers on haciendas, at times in semifeudal relationships and at times exercising considerable autonomy. About 40 percent of the rural population in the sierra is located in indigenous communities. These communities vary in size, degree of economic stratification, and in the level of antagonism between themselves and neighboring haciendas and other indigenous communities. Lengthy and costly suits over disputed land have engaged the energies and monies of communities throughout this century.[18] In many communities, substantial differences in

land-holding exist and poor peasants work as day laborers for wealthier peasants.

The situation for coastal agriculture is equally complex, with a variety of tenant farmers, permanent laborers, and temporary workers all associated with coastal plantations. Deciding who has a claim on land in a situation of land scarcity is a difficult task, even for the best-intended and best-constructed laws. In addition, government officials feared agricultural production would drop as a result of any substantial redistribution of land. In particular, there was concern about the impact of an agrarian reform on the highly productive coastal sugar enterprises that made important contributions to the national economy.

In the case of Belaunde's land reform, another political factor intervened. The opposition's majority in Congress effectively blocked application of the law on the coastal commercial plantations--the seat of the opposition's strongest political support from the unionized workers in those sites. The workers on the sugar plantations of the north coast were among the best-paid workers in Peru. Many of them feared an agrarian reform would adversely affect their situation.

Whereas the actual amount of land distributed and the type of enterprise affected was limited under the 1964 law, Belaunde's reform clearly set a precedent. Henceforth, the state might act affirmatively to redistribute a most valuable resource to alleviate inequity in the rural sector.

Educational Reform. During the first Belaunde administration, Peru experienced broad educational reform. Much of this represented affirmative action for the least advantaged; illiteracy was substantially reduced and primary school enrollment increased. Belaunde introduced free education at the secondary level, and government expenditures for education jumped from 19.9 percent of the budget in 1962 to 28.8 percent of the 1965 budget and 30 percent by 1966.[19]

Schools and education are viewed as a most important route of social mobility by many rural campesinos, but their approval is qualified and they are critical of flaws in the educational system. Campesinos

understand that the school is an essential institution for gaining access to the wider society, but schools, and the mestizo teachers who instruct in them, often communicate quite negative evaluations of indigenous culture and campesinos.[20]

As schools expanded in the rural areas and primary education became more readily available, little effort was made at the national level to infuse a pro-indigentista or cultural-pluralism component into the curriculum. The assumption was that schools were important elements in furthering the integration of the indigenous population, but integration would have to be on terms that fostered acculturation to mestizo norms and language.[21]

Language posed an important barrier for the Indian population, and the drop-out rate for Indian children, especially girls, remained high. Transition to schools and advancement through the grades are closely tied to the ability of the children to learn Spanish. In addition to the language barrier, a number of studies indicate that campesino parents doubt the willingness of mestizo schoolteachers to educate their children.[22] Parents' antagonism toward the schoolteachers, who are often viewed as outsiders in the community, serves as an important brake on what can be accomplished through affirmative action programs that depend upon the classroom and the schoolteacher for effective implementation.[23]

Under Belaunde, in addition to the substantial expansion of schools, there were some initial attempts to improve knowledge and understanding of indigenous languages and to promote the use of the native language as a vehicle for teaching Spanish. Acquisition of Spanish literacy, however, continued to be viewed as the primary goal of the system.[24]

## Programs and Policies from 1968-80: The Revolutionary Military Government and Affirmative Action[25]

The first Belaunde government ended amidst cries of corruption and a serious internal split in his party. The military intervened in October of 1968, and General Juan Velasco Alvarado became the head of the self-proclaimed Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces. Scholars have

debated the nature of the regime and its policies; all assessments turn on how the conflicting intentions within the leadership are weighed and which part of the regime's policies and initiatives are examined.[26] A critical shift does take place after Velasco departs in 1975 and as the economy worsens.

Debate about the military government centers on whether it was committed to the construction of "a fully participatory social democracy" and an end to previous forms of political and social domination, or whether it was primarily motivated by concerns of social control. In either event, the military was convinced by 1968 that civilian governments were incapable of responding effectively to the threat of social disorder and that only a response from the military could restore internal stability.

A number of the military government's initial policies challenged what many Peruvians felt were the invidious consequences of Western models of development: specifically, increasing economic dependence upon the United States for capital and technology, lagging national development as foreign-owned industries exported raw materials and profits, and the marked economic inequity in Peruvian society. The entrenched power of the oligarchy was exemplified by the belief that "40 families" controlled the vast majority of wealth in Peru. The Revolutionary Military Government proclaimed that it would forge an independent nationalistic alternative that would be "neither capitalist nor communist."

In pursuing that course from 1968 until 1974, the military government undertook a series of reforms. During this process, the military government's most important affirmative action initiatives were: its efforts with regard to the rural campesino sector, its efforts in educational reform, and its fledgling development of a new orientation toward women and their role in Peruvian society.

The Agrarian Reform Law of 1969. In June of 1969, the military government undertook a massive agrarian reform, with the goal of breaking the entrenched oligarchy's hold on the commercial coastal plantations

and highland *haciendas*. Rural unrest had continued throughout the Belaunde regime. In the mid 1960s, the army was used to quell a substantial guerrilla movement in the central sierra. That experience played a critical role in convincing the military government of the need for a more substantial reform in the rural areas.[27]

Unlike Belaunde's reform, the law promulgated in 1969 specifically restructured the industrialized sugar plantations of the coast and highland sierra livestock *haciendas*. The 1969 law replaced the old structures with cooperatives that combined workers, technicians, and the state in the ownership and governance of the new entities. The agrarian cooperatives were to resolve the contrasting problems of *minifundia* and *latifundia* that characterized pre-1968 land tenure, through joint ownership of land, shared profits, and a participatory decision-making structure designed to include representatives from all sectors of the new organization. The military's model for agrarian reform, and the organizations they instituted, assumed a commonality of interests in the countryside and particularly among the peasantry.

From the outset, the military government identified the agrarian reform as an instrument to end the historical inequity of the peasantry. In announcing the law, Velasco proclaimed:

> Today, the Day of the Indian, the Day of the Peasant, the Revolutionary Government is making the best of all tributes to him by giving the whole nation a law which will end forever an unjust social order. . . . Today Peru has a government determined to achieve the development of the country by the final destruction of ancient economic and social structures that have no validity in our epoch.[28]

Changing the name of the June 24 celebration from *Dia del Indio* to *Dia del Campesino* was another indication of the government's response to the problem of national integration. In short, it would speed up mobility by deemphasizing ethnic distinctions.[29]

Most observers of the agrarian reform argue that it produced a pattern in which the upper levels of the peasantry and the most privileged members of the agricultural sector (such as wage earners on the highly industrialized coastal plantations) benefited disproportionately.[30] In part, this resulted from political constraints upon the government and the

diversity of conditions they faced in the rural sector. Formulating a policy that addressed rural diversity and, at the same time, alleviated inequity among the rural population, proved difficult.

The military government's efforts to emphasize a more communal, cooperative organization in the rural indigenous communities met with resistance, as did their efforts to redistribute wealth. In the first instance, there was little interest in a socialistic, communal reorganization because experience had led comuneros (members of the communities) to develop more individualistic strategies. In the second instance, the efforts at increased egalitarianism ran counter to the strategies developed to gain influence in the larger society by all strata of the local communities. Opposition to the law was so marked that the law was never effectively implemented in the campesino communities.[31]

Implementing the government's agrarian reform law also ran into difficulties on the large coastal plantations where most of the reform's beneficiaries were located. Permanent workers wanted to restrict membership rights in the new cooperatives, barring temporary laborers from participation. Consequently, temporary workers, the most disadvantaged workers on the coastal plantations, never fully benefited from the law.

The Agrarian Reform of 1969 represents the most significant affirmative action of the military government toward the rural Indian sector. Nevertheless, it could neither address nor resolve the host of inequities faced by that population. On the other hand, there is some evidence that experience in the self-managed cooperatives established under the Agrarian Reform of 1969 gave rise to a new sense of social solidarity and political authority among peasants who qualified for membership.[32]

One of the principal changes during the course of the agrarian reform was the creation of the National Agrarian Confederation--the CNA--in 1974. The CNA was the idea of those in the government who realized the agrarian reform had not yet benefited the most disadvantaged in the rural sector. The organization linked delegates from agrarian leagues, formed throughout the country, to a General Assembly at the national level. The CNA became an outspoken forum for peasant concerns. As

McClintock reports: "The CNA proved active and ambitious. Its goals included integration of the Peruvian peasantry, [and] the support of rural development efforts."[33] The military, under the more conservative leadership of Morales Bermudez, after 1975 felt compelled to shut down the CNA just as it was "threatening to become an effective political representative of the Sierra peasantry."[34] Despite the military's efforts to destroy the CNA, there is evidence for its continued impact. In December 1982, the Latin American Weekly Report credits the CNA with a major role in the two-day national protest against government agricultural policies.[35] Such evidence suggests that organizations created as part of the military's efforts at affirmative action have not disappeared and continue to play a role under the current (again, Belaunde) government.

Education. Because education is such a central aspect of affirmative action toward disadvantaged groups, the problematic history of the military government's Education Reform of 1972 helps demonstrate the constraints upon their affirmative action efforts. The military government's policies[36] in education focused on making schools more relevant to the actual conditions of people's lives. This took the form of creating "nuclear" schools structured to address the needs and concerns of the entire community, adults as well as children. The hope was to end the enormous educational concentration in Lima and on the coast, to improve the quality of education available to rural citizens, and to rid the schools of their outmoded reliance on rote memorization.[37] In the urban areas, particularly in Lima, there was also an attempt to equalize relations between private and public school systems.

The government had difficulties with the reform almost from its inception. Peasant parents reacted strenuously to an early decree (Decreto Ley 006) that would have required secondary school students to pay to repeat classes they failed. Since failure and repetition are exremely common, this regulation was tantamount to eliminating access to secondary school for the sector of the rural population that had just achieved a sufficient financial level to enroll a child. The law was changed, but only after demonstrations against the law were summarily put

down by the military at the cost of lives and injuries. Significantly, the demonstrations took place in Huanta, a town in the heavily indigenous department of Ayacucho.[38]

Aspects of the education reform ran into further difficulties in the rural areas when a teachers' strike--over salaries and benefits--prevented completion of the school term in 1977. Rural parents, despite complaints about mestizo teachers, value education. They saw the government's inability to resolve the teachers' strike and provide sustained schooling as a signal failure. The significance of this failure for peasants is underscored by Webb's point that one of the few returns rural and poor citizens receive from the state is the provision of education.[39]

The Velasco government attempted some creative reform in language policy. The recognition of Quechua as a second national language was an important example of affirmative action in this area. The 1961 census indicated that 40 percent of the Peruvian population spoke a native language, and that about 6 million Peruvians speak Quechua. The teaching of Quechua never expanded significantly and many rural parents expressed doubts about the utility of learning Quechua. On the other hand, the legal standing of Quechua allowed the use of the language in law courts, and consequently the possibility of presenting a claim in one's own language. The new obligation of the courts to respond to peasants in their own language marked a potential shift in the balance of power between Indian and mestizo. The impact of this change was first apparent under the provisions of the military's 1969 Agrarian Reform Law, which allowed peasants to present their grievances to the Agrarian Tribunal in Quechua.[40]

Literacy never received the concentrated attention of a government program, despite the figures in 1961 that showed less than 40 percent literacy for the rural areas as contrasted with an urban population that was 85 percent literate. The government identified the eradication of illiteracy as one of its objectives in the two major statements of government policy, but as the government's conflicts with teachers over wages and the implementation of the educational reform increased, the

active pursuit of a literacy program never developed. One area where some attention was paid to the problem of literacy was in the government's concern with the situation of women in Peruvian society. The military made some fledgling attempts to develop affirmative action in this relatively untapped area of public policy.

Affirmative Action and the Peruvian Woman. The military government was unique for its attention to the status of women in Peruvian society. Women had been enfranchised in 1955; however, their economic and political participation lagged far behind that of men and patterns of educational achievement in both the urban and rural areas remained below that of men.

Gender presents a number of contrasts with ethnicity as a focus for affirmative action. It is far less ambiguously identified than ethnicity in Peru and far less open to alteration. Women do not lose their gender identification with a change in residence, or language. While gender simplifies some of the complexities of policies based on ethnicity, it presents a new set of problems for policy-makers. The issues that emerged in Peru are not particular to that nation. Rather they are common to the efforts of societies attempting to develop laws to remedy inequity between the sexes. For Peru, these issues were phrased as follows: How can the government elaborate programs to achieve sexual equality in the face of cultural values that seriously question changes in women's roles? How can policy effectively distinguish the issues of class, economic status, and gender? For instance, how can government policy on gender take into account the enormous differences in the circumstances of upper-class-elite wives, women of the squatter settlements surrounding Lima, and the campesina women of indigenous communities?

As early as 1973, the military government appointed COTREM, Committee for the Reevaluation of Woman, which was the first state body charged with coordinating the efforts of various women's groups. A year later, the National Council of Peruvian Women was revitalized, attracting to its membership a range of women, both academics and activists.[41] The efforts of both these national organizations were aided by the preparations underway for the United Nations Decade of the Woman, launched at the

international meeting in Mexico City. The military government declared in 1975 the Year of the Peruvian Woman, and a number of policy-oriented studies were undertaken to develop a fuller understanding of the actual situation of the Peruvian woman.[42]

Even prior to the UN initiatives, the military government had identified the problem of women's status as one of the issues they intended to address when taking power. Revealing those plans in 1974, Velasco listed in Item 23 of Plan Inca an analysis of the situation of the Peruvian woman and the government's goals with respect to this issue.

The government described the situation as one in which women were not effectively exercising their rights as citizens; they suffered restricted access to high-level positions in politics and administration. Women were discriminated against in employment and compensation, and men could exercise unilateral control over property in marriages. Special note was made of the difficult situation of the single mother and the abusive treatment of men toward women. The objective of the government was simply stated: to achieve effective equality between men and women in rights and obligations. To do that, the government indicated that it intended to encourage women's participation at high levels of government, eliminate discriminatory treatment that limited opportunities or affected the rights and dignity of women, promote co-education, and guarantee that the common property of a marriage could not be disposed of unilaterally by the husband.[43]

By 1974, a government spokesman reported that the Civil Code had been modified through a governmental decree to allow for the participation of both spouses in the administration of common property.[44] While noting the continuing problems women encounter in economic discrimination and in education, the report states there had been some increase in the number of women counted among the economically active population. Nevertheless, continuing inadequacies in the compilation of census statistics on labor force participation and the severe underestimation of women's contributions that result from this have not yet been adequately addressed.[45]

With regard to education, women were also to become the beneficiaries of the educational reform. However, in the rural areas, women's education continued to lag severely behind that of men. There were some attempts to insert new images of women into school texts and COTREM developed and distributed some pamphlets using cartoons that pointed out the contradictions in women's position. Attempts by schoolteachers to teach boys and girls the same skills were often met with parental resistance, especially if this included teaching sewing or embroidery to the boys.

In light of its promise to open up occupational opportunities for women, the military began a small program of recruiting women into the armed forces and the police force. These were all reserve units and one crack drill team that was frequently put on display at parades. In 1979, over 200 women graduated from a police academy course designed to prepare them to help tourists, to direct traffic--especially around schools--and to assist the police in cases of child disappearance. This specialized assignment of tasks maintained the division of labor between male and female officers.

When the military's Plan Tupac Amaru was issued in 1977, Title 30 addressed the situation of the Peruvian woman and identified its goal as the reappraisal of women's situation and their progressive incorporation into the active life of the country. In addition to the issues raised in Plan Inca, the military government added improving women's access to training programs, particularly in the public sector, and giving special emphasis to campesino women. The plan called for the end to illiteracy and an increase in female school attendance. It pledged the government to work for more effective application of co-education, to create initial education centers (day care), and to permit women greater access to the productive life of the country. It encouraged the diffusion of programs with a new image of women through the educational system and the media.

Finally, the plan pointed out the need to modify restrictive provisions in the civil code and labor legislation that limit women's rights. At the same time, the government hoped to widen state actions that protect mothers and children.

Despite the concerns expressed in Plan Inca and later in Plan Tupac Amaru, military government policy did not always adequately promote affirmative action to increase women's participation in the full range of social, economic, and political life. The agrarian reform is a particularly poignant example of this failure. Despite the law's many shortcomings, it was recognized as fostering major changes in the rural areas. Nevertheless, the Agrarian Reform Law of 1969 ignored the central role of women in agriculture and proved disadvantageous to them. In accordance with the provisions of the law, the male head of household, rather than the family, received title to the land or membership in the cooperative. The Agrarian Reform failed to take into account women's contributions to agricultural production, left their inheritance claims vulnerable in some cases, and severely restricted their participation within the new production structure.[46] Women's treatment under the law is an important example of how a reform, designed to assist a disadvantaged sector, often assumes too much about the homogeneity of interests within the affected group.

Parts of Article 30 of Plan Tupac Amaru were accomplished when the 1979 Constitution explicitly included equal rights for women in Article 2.2: "All people have equality before the law without discrimination on the basis of sex, race, religion, opinion or language. Man and woman have equal opportunities and responsibilities. The law recognizes for the woman rights no less than those of the man."[47]

The debate over this provision of the 1979 Constitution demonstrates the difficulties of policy that must recognize the enormous impact of social and economic class on the experience of different groups of women, as well as the commonality of their situation as women. This dilemma emerged in the debates over the article on women's rights, and centered on whether there should have been a special provision for the "exploited and dominated" woman, distinguishing her condition and the responsibilities of the state toward her from that of the middle-class bourgeois woman. No such provision gained enough supporters and the thrust of the Constitution is to treat all women similarly.

Other aspects of the 1979 Constitution that have particular reference to women do not necessarily constitute affirmative action. For instance, the Constitution provides for equal pay in Article 43: "The worker, man or woman, has the right to equal remuneration for equal work performed in identical conditions for the same employer." Occupational segregation by sex seriously blunts the effectiveness of this provision.[48]

On the other hand, the Constitution specifically addresses the problem of illiteracy and makes its eradication a priority task. The Constitution requires the president of the republic to give an account of illiteracy each year. While the constitutional provision does not state it, illiteracy is a particularly female problem in Peru.[49]

## Conclusions

By the mid-1970s, one could catalogue a series of affirmative action efforts by Peruvian governments, including programs directed at broadening access to resources, services, and legal rights, and aimed to lessening inequity among Indians, mestizos, and whites as well as between men and women. The programs were not all successful. Affirmative action poses special problems to developing countries like Peru where inequalities are particularly complex and the resources available to governments distinctly limited. Despite the efforts of both civilian and military governments to achieve reform, the policies of both remained vulnerable to the critical economic decline that occurred after 1974.

National governments in Peru have had to deal with a series of hard choices in their policy formulations, such as the trade-off between growth and redistribution. The policies that did develop in the 20th century have been a part of state expansion and the consolidation of control over the rural areas. Policy initiatives, particularly in the case of the agrarian reforms, have been prompted in part by peasant demands and militant actions in organizing land invasions. Social fear remains an important impetus to government action.

The implementation of government policies has been restricted by the peculiar difficulties posed by cultural pluralism, the complexity of land

tenure patterns, political constraints, and the weak institutional structures upon which affirmative action programs had to be built. Also important have been citizen responses to government initiatives: when government policy was in conflict with strategies previously developed by peasants, implementation was often unsuccessful.

Despite the range of laws that were introduced, the marked decline of the Peruvian economy after 1974 has severely limited the impact of those laws. By 1978, the financial crisis had necessitated the acceptance of highly restrictive IMF policies. This curtailed almost all reform initiatives, and threatened to reverse some previous gains.

The results of affirmative action policy seen in this light suggest that inequality was eased somewhat in the contemporary period, most explicitly from 1968 to 1974. However, great disparities persist and gains are easily reversible. The question is, to what extent is improvement due to long-term trends of change, such as ethnic redefinition, or to explicit government policies. A second question is, How long will the positive impact of affirmative action persist in the face of economic crisis? Certainly, government programs to expand public schools, followed by efforts to make those schools more relevant to the needs of Peruvians, speeded ethnic identification as mestizos. Similarly, the expansion of the cash economy into the sierra opened up new commercial occupations for many peasant families. The agrarian reform changed the ownership patterns of the larger estates, yet, as with education, the long-term meaning of the reforms is inevitably tied to larger trends in the economy and social structure.

With regard to the impact of government efforts to ameliorate inequality, the Peruvian case suggests the following factors may be important. First, economically phrased policies and solutions are vulnerable to shifting economic currents. Hence, for affirmative action to have a long-term effect in a nation like Peru, it must create mechanisms for access to the sources of political influence and decision-making. In Peru, the ability to organize and sustain political access for the disadvantaged along ethnic lines has been limited by the fluidity of ethnic

identification and the option of ethnic mobility as an alternative to political mobilization.

Some aspects of affirmative action programs, however, are likely to have broader implications and wider meanings for Peru. Specifically, the attitudes peasants developed in their agrarian cooperative experience, over time, may lead to new forms of political and economic participation. The persistence of an organization like the CNA, long after it has lost government support, suggests another long-term consequence of affirmative action. Similarly, the military government's attention to women's status and its attempts to promote fuller integration and equity for women in Peruvian society have fostered the growth of a range of women's organizations. Associations of women lawyers have been responsible for presenting critiques of the civil code. Further, organizations of professional women have developed that seek to end discrimination against women not only in professional life, but throughout the occupational structure. Also, a host of feminist organizations have been created, many of which have action programs directed toward the poorest strata of women.[50]

In short, just as citizen response to policy is critical for its implementation, so, too, the consequences of affirmative action may be more widespread than the particular policies implemented. This last point raises two related questions that, while not addressed in this paper, seem central to a consideration of the impact of affirmative action policies and of comparative importance in speaking about the impact of such policies internationally. To wit, do affirmative action policies and attempts at implementation result in changes in the national society's perception of the disadvantaged group? Secondly, do these policies and their implementation result in changed consciousness among the recipient group of their situation and the ways in which it might be addressed? Certainly, in the Peruvian case, there seems to be some evidence for this latter pattern, among both peasants and women.

Finally, the consideration of affirmative action in Peru raises two additional theoretical concerns for comparative studies. First, it may be helpful to distinguish between policies that are phrased in terms of

maximizing equality and those, such as the Peruvian situation, that are phrased in terms of lessening inequality. Second, as this case study demonstrates clearly, the success or failure of policies depends upon the perspective from which we measure success. Success may be achieved in attitude change and organizational growth that, while not explicitly conceived of as part of the initial policy, are significant, unintended, and long-term consequences.

## NOTES

1. R. Nyrop, Peru: A Country Study. Foreign Area Studies, Washington, D.C.: The American University. 1981: 92.

2. This paper does not address the particular problems posed by the Indian population of the selva. The cultural diversity of that region combined with recent economic development efforts makes it an especially complex situation, and beyond the scope of this paper.

3. This point is best made in Julio Cotler, Democracia e integracion nacional. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos. 1980.

4. Richard C. Webb, Government Policy and the Distribution of Income in Peru. 1963-1973. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press. 1977:6.

5. David Scott Palmer, Peru: The Authoritarian Tradition. New York: Praeger. 1980: 11.

6. On this process see Susan C. Bourque and Kay B. Warren, Denial and Reaffirmation of Ethnic Identities: A Comparative Examination of Guatemalan and Peruvian Communities. International Area Studies Programs, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Program in Latin American Studies, Occasional Papers Series, No. 8, 1978; Henry F. Dobyns and Paul Doughty, Peru: A Cultural History. New York: Oxford University Press. 1976; and Pierre Van den Berghe and George Primov, Inequality in the Peruvian Andes: Class and Ethnicity in Cuzco. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1977.

7. Thomas M. Davies, Indian Integration in Peru. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1974: 155.

8. Ibid. and Henry F. Dobyns, The Social Matrix of Peruvian Indigenous Communities. Cornell Peru Project Monograph. Ithaca: Cornell University Anthropology Department, 1964.

9. Fernando Fuenzalida, ed. El indio y el poder en el Peru. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos. 1970; and Enrique Mayer "Mestizo e Indio: el contexto social de las relaciones interetnicas" in Fernando Fuenzalida, op. cit.

10. Van den Berghe and Primov, op. cit. p. 256.

11. Mayer, op. cit.

12. Ibid.

13. Fuenzalida, op. cit., p. 82. On the other hand, one must bear in mind that the vast majority of immigrants remain in squatter settlements surrounding Lima and experience much more limited mobility. See Peter Lloyd, The Young Towns of Lima. Cambridge University Press, 1980, for a useful discussion of the general pattern found in the squatter settlements. See also Jorge Osterling, De campesinas a professionals, Lima: Pontificia Universidad Catolica del Peru, 1980, for recent patterns of social mobility.

14. Davies, op. cit., p. 160.

15. Cleaves and Schurrah, noting the highly skewed landholding patterns in rural Peru, estimate that prior to the agrarian reform laws, the upper 14 percent of the landholders possessed 76 percent of the land in private hands while 83 percent of the independent farmers worked on property of five hectares or less. See Peter Cleaves and Martin Schurrah, Agriculture, Bureaucracy and Military Government in Peru. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980: 31-32.

16. Susan C. Bourque and David Scott Palmer, "Transforming the Rural Sector: Government Policy and Peasant Response," in Abraham Lowenthal, ed. The Peruvian Experiment. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1975: 195.

17. The plight of the comuneros, of the sierra indigenous communities, is suggested by McClintock's report that in 1960 "although peasant communities constituted less than 25 percent of the productive land, they included about 40 percent of the rural population." Furthermore, she observes, "The average employee on the coastal enterprise earned at least double the income of the average peasant community resident." Cynthia McClintock, Peasant Cooperatives and Political Change in Peru. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1981: 73-74.

18. Dobyns, op. cit.

19. Robert Drysdale and Robert G. Myers, "Continuity and Change: Peruvian Education," in Abraham F. Lowenthal, op. cit., pp. 256-58.

20. Mario C. Vazquez, Educacion rural en el Callejon de Huaylas: Vicos. Lima: Editorial Estudios Andios. 1965; Norman Gall, "Peru's Educational Reform." American Universities Field Staff Reports. West Coast South America, Parts I-IV, 1974; and George Primov, "The School as an Obstacle to Structural Integration Among Peruvian Indians." Education and Urban Society, 10:209-22. 1978.

21. Drysdale and Myers, op. cit.

22. Vazquez, op. cit., and Gall, op. cit.

23. Primov, op. cit., raises some important questions about the failure of rural schools to teach literacy and suggests that in Peru this failure has maintained the power of mestizos over Indians.

24. Drysdale and Myers, op. cit.

25. Furnish points out that "military governments in Peru are an accepted part of the legal system and govern through laws and official acts, constrained by highly refined customs and even constitutional principles." Dale Furnish, "The Hierarchy of Peruvian Laws: Context for Law and Development," American Journal of Comparative Law 19:1, 1971, pp. 91-120.

26. Debate over the nature of the military regime abounds. Some of the best assessments can be found in Cotler, op. cit.: Lowenthal, op. cit.; David Scott Palmer, "Revolution from Above: Military Government and Popular Participation in Peru, 1968-1972," Ithaca: Cornell University. 1973; and Luis Pasara, "El proyecto de Velasco y la organizacion campesina." Apuntes 4:8, 1978, pp. 59-80.

27. See Victor Villanuerva, Nueva mentalidad militar?, Lima: Editorial Juan Mejia Baca, 1969, for this interpretation.

28. Paul Sigmund, ed., The Ideologies of the Developing Nations. Praeger, New York, 1972, p. 400.

29. E. H. Epstein, "Education and Peruanidad: Internal Colonialism in the Peruvian Highlands," Comparative Education Review 15:1971: 188-201, and Dobyns and Doughty, op. cit.

30. Bourque and Palmer, op. cit., 204 report that "by 1974 about 10 percent of rural families had benefitted from the 1969 law. Two-thirds of the benefits went to those on the coast, not in the sierra. The law itself when completed would only benefit approximately 40 percent of all farm families and less than 10 percent of the campesino communities." For similar estimates and fuller discussions of the impact of the Agrarian Reform Law of 1969, see Cleaves and Schurrah, op. cit.; McClintock, op. cit.; and Mario Valderama, 7 Anos de Reforma Agraria Peruana 1969-1976. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Catolica del Peru, 1976.

31. For a discussion of the problems of the agrarian reform in the indigenous communities, see Bourque and Palmer, op. cit.; Susan C. Bourque and Kay Warren, Women of the Andes, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1981: 270-271; and Norman Long and Bryan Roberts, Peasant Cooperation and Capitalist Expansion in Central Peru. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1978.

32. McClintock, op. cit., notes that among members of the cooperatives, both political consciousness and political activity developed (319-20).

33. Ibid., 38.

34. Dennis Gilbert, "The End of the Peruvian Revolution: A Class Analysis," Studies in Comparative International Development, XV:1, 1980, pp. 15-38.

35. Latin American Weekly Report. December 1982.

36. Several assessments of the impact of the Educational Reform of 1972 are available. In addition to Gall, op. cit., and Drysdale and Myers, op. cit., see Carlos Malpica, "Education and the Community in the Peruvian Educational Reform." International Review of Education 26:3; 1980: 357-67; and R. G. Paulston, "Education, Revolution and Nationalism in Peru." School and Society 99: 1971: 361-64.

37. Primov, op. cit., has described the political consequences of this process.

38. Gall, op. cit.

39. Webb, op. cit., 84.

40. Palmer, op. cit., 1973, has noted the significance of this change for Indians in the Ayacucho region of the Andes.

41. Virginia Vargas, "El movimiento Feminista en el Peru: Balance y Perspectivas." Paper delivered at annual meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, Washington, D.C., 1982:3.

42. Among the current studies available, see Esther Andradi and Ana Maria Portugal, Ser Mujer en el Peru, Lima: Ediciones Mujer y autonomia, 1978; Maruja Barrig, Cinturon de Castidad, Lima: Mosca Azul, 1979; Teresa Burga and Marie France Cathelat. Perfil de la mujer Peruana, Lima: Fondo del Libro del Banco Industrial del Peru, 1981; Elsa Chaney, Supermadre: Women in Politics in Latin America, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980; Carmen Rodriguez de Munoz y Elsa Roca de Salonen, Compilacion y analysis de leyes sobre la condicion juridica y social de la mujer Peruana, Lima: Universidad nacional major de San Marcos, 1978; Violetta Sara La-Fosse, Carmen Chira y Amelia Fort, Participacion Economica y Social de la Mujer Peruana, Lima: UNICEF, 1981; and Vargas, op. cit.

43. Plan del Gobierno Revolucionario de la Fuerza Armada, Lima: Comite de Asesoramiento de la Presidencia de la Republica. 1974. Plan de Gobierno Tupac Amaru. 1977.

44. Mario Zolezzi Chocano. "La revaloracion de la mujer en el Peru. Analysis y perspectivas," Convergence. 8:1, 1975. 41-48.

45. Sara La Fosse, op. cit., 20.

46. Ibid., 21: Bourque and Warren, op. cit., 183-87.

47. Discussion of the constitutional debates is based upon interviews with Gabriela Porto de Powers in April 1981. Porto de Powers was the only woman to sign the 1979 Constitution. She has written a commentary on aspects of the new Constitution that affect women's lives, "La Mujer Frente a la Constitucion Politica del Peru" (n.d.).

48. Indicators are that occupational segregation has increased over the past 20 years with fewer women finding work in the manufacturing sector, which is by far the most coveted position for urban workers. Migration has also exacerbated women's competitive disadvantage. See Bourque and Warren, op. cit., for a fuller discussion of this process. Marta Tienda has explored the consequences of this process for children and explicitly addressed the inherent policy implications in "Economic Activity of Children in Peru: Labor Force Behavior in Rural and Urban Contexts." Rural Sociology 44:2, 1979: pp. 370-91.

49. According to UN figures, Peru has one of the highest female illiteracy rates in South America, 51 percent. Rural illiteracy rates are two and one-half times as high for women as for men. Women represent 63 percent of the country's monolingual Quechua or Aymara speakers.

50. Vargas, op. cit.